

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3114

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: US LEADERSHIP IN ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL FOR COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT, ASSISTANT SEC-
RETARY HARTMAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY ELLSWORTH, DIRECTOR
HYLAND AND DIRECTOR VEST

REF: A. USNATO 2333

B. USNATO 0619

C. USNATO 5680 OCT 74

SUMMARY: THE PRESIDENTS CALL AT THE NATO SUMMIT FOR IMPROVEMENT
IN THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS WAS ECHOED BY SIX PRIME MINISTERS
AND THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, THROUGH SAUVAGNARGUES
SOUGHT TO RESTRICT CONSULTATIONS TO NATOS TRADITIONAL AREAS OF
INTEREST. THE ALLIES WILL LOOK TO THE US FOR CLARIFICATION ON
SPECIFIC STEPS WE ENVISAGE TO ENHANCE POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS.
THUS, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US TAKE THE LEAD NOW TO SET A
FRESH CALENDAR FOR ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS. OUR SUGGESTIONS
FOR A NATO PROGRAM ENTAIL, OVER THE NEXT TWELVE MONTHS:
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(A) MORE REINFORCED NAC MEETINGS AND POSSIBLE REINFORCED DPC
MEETINGS, (B) NEW DEPARTURES IN SPC AND POLADS, (C) IMPROVEMENTS
IN NATO EXPERTS MEETINGS, AND (D) INCREASED USE OF THE NATO-WIDE
COMMUNICATIONS NET. END SUMMARY.

1. THE CHALLENGE. AT THE MAY 1975 NATO SUMMIT, THE PRESIDENT CALLED FOR IMPROVED POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS. HE WAS SUPPORTED BY THE GREEK, NORWEGIAN, CANADIAN, DANISH, LUXEMBOURG, AND BELGIAN PRIME MINISTERS. THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO FAVORED ENHANCED CONSULTATIONS, BUT SAID THE ALLIES "SHOULD BE ON GUARD AGAINST GIVING THE ALLIANCE RESPONSIBILITIES THAT DO NOT BELONG TO IT, "A CLEAR REFERENCE TO ECONOMIC AND RELATED QUESTIONS. BROAD ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRESIDENTS PROPOSAL PROVIDES A MANDATE FOR US TO TAKE THE LEAD IN WORKING WITH THE ALLIES TO ENHANCE CONSULTATIONS. IF WE FAIL TO FOLLOW UP, THE EFFECT OF THE SUMMIT WILL BE DIMINISHED AND WE WILL LOSE OPPORTUNITIES TO ENGAGE THE ALLIES IN MORE THROUGH EXCHANGES OF VIEW ON CURRENT ISSUES.

2. NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT. MBFR CONSULTATIONS HERE HAVE BEEN EXCELLENT. THE ALLIES CONTINUE TO APPRECIATE, TOO, THE SALT CONSULTATIONS AND THE BRIEFINGS WE HAVE PROVIDED ON HIGH-LEVEL US-USSR CONTACTS. MOREOVER, THE ALLIES HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE CALIBER AND VIGOR OF A SERIES OF RECENT CONSULTATIONS ON DEFENSE ISSUES ACROSS THE BOARD WHICH HAVE HELPED THE US SELL ITS PROGRAMS IN THE DEFENSE SPHERE. HOWEVER, EXCEPT FOR SEVERAL MODEST EFFORTS IN THE SPC AND THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, THERE HAVE BEEN NO RECENT US INITIATIVES TO BREAK FRESH GROUND IN POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS. NOR HAVE THERE BEEN REINFORCED NAC MEETINGS SINCE THE NOVEMBER 1974 MIDDLE EAST CONSULTATIONS, THROUGH REGULAR REINFORCED SESSIONS WERE PROPOSED BY THE SECRETARY AT THE MINISTERIAL MEETING IN DECEMBER 1973. MOREOVER, THE US HAS ADVANCED NO PROPOSALS FOR CONSULTATIONS ON MATTERS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA SINCE THE OTTAWA DECLARATION. WE RECOGNIZE THAT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ELSEWHERE HAVE NOT LENT THEMSELVES TO SUCH CONSULTATIONS; HOWEVER, SOME OF OUR COLLEAGUES HERE HAVE NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT DID NOT TOUCH ON THE MIDDLE EAST IN HIS REMARKS AT THE SUMMIT, AND THE ALLIES WILL EXPECT THE US TO CONSULT ON THE MIDDLE EAST AFTER THE PRESIDENTS MEETINGS WITH SADAT AND RABIN. AT THE SAME TIME, ALMOST ALL RECOGNIZE THAT NATOS CAPACITY FOR CONSULTATION IS NOT BEING FULLY UTILIZED, AND AMONG DELEGATION POLITICAL STAFFS
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WE RECENTLY HAVE HEARD MUTED COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE LACK OF VIGOROUS US LEADERSHIP IN THE SPHERE OF POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS.

3. WILL ALLIES RECIPROCATE? HEALTHY ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS, OF COURSE, CANNOT COME FROM US INITIATIVES ALONE. WE MUST REMIND AND ENCOURAGE LAGGARDLY ALLIES TO PLAY THEIR PART, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT ONLY A HANDFUL HAVE THE INTELLIGENCE AND ANALYTICAL RESOURCES TO MAKE MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS. NONETHELESS, "THE HABIT" OF CONSULTATION, IN OUR JUDGEMENT, REQUIRES THAT WE CONSIDER NOT ONLY THE GIVE-AND-TAKE OF BARGAINING OF INTELLIGENCE AND INSIGHTS. RATHER, BY OUR EXAMPLE WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE ALLIES, AS THE PRESIDENT SAID, TO HELP US "DEVELOP COMMON POLICIES TO DEAL WITH COMMON PROBLEMS." THOUGH IN

MANY CASES FACTUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONSULTATIONS MAY PROVE TO BE A "ONE-WAY STREET", NATO REMAINS AN EFFICIENT FORUM FOR DEVELOPING COMMON ANALYSIS AND POINTING POSSIBLE POLICY DIRECTIONS.

4. SUGGESTED PROGRAM. TO ENHANCE ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS, WE SHOULD EMBRACE IN OUR EFFORTS NOT ONLY THE NAC AND POSSIBLY THE DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE (DPC), BUT ALSO THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SPC) AND THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE (POLADS) -- FORA IN WHICH THE US PERFORMANCE HAS TENDED OF LATE TO BE SOMEWHAT PASSIVE AND REACTIVE. WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD ALSO TRY TO INCREASE THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF US POLITICAL ANALYSES AND ASSESSMENTS FOR TRANSMISSION TO CAPITALS AND NATO HEADQUARTERS OVER THE NATO-WIDE COMMUNICATIONS NET.

5. ACCORDINGLY, WE RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING US ACTIONS:

(A) NAC AND DPC

-- EAST ASIAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN DEVELOPMENTS. RECENT EUROPEAN PRESS AND OTHER SPECULATION ABOUT SHIFTS IN THE ASIAN POWER BALANCE, ECHOED AT NATO, SUGGEST THAT WE AIM FOR A NAC REINFORCED BY POLICY-LEVEL EAST ASIAN EXPERTS (SEE USNATO 2611), PERHAPS BEFORE THE AUGUST HOLIDAYS. THE RECENT REPORT FROM EMBASSY MOSCOW ON SOVIET ASIAN POLICY (MOSCOW 6800) COULD PROVIDE A BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A US PAPER TO SERVE AS BACKGROUND TO THE CONSULTATIONS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3114

LIMDIS

-- MIDDLE EAST. ONCE THE CURRENT ROUND OF US TALKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST IS CONCLUDED, WE SHOULD MEET LEGITIMATE ALLIED INTERESTS BY PROVIDING A NAC BRIEFING ATTENDED BY SENIOR OFFICIALS

FROM CAPITALS. WHILE THE ALLIES WILL UNDERSTAND THAT SCHEDULING SUCH A REINFORCED NAC MUST DEPEND UPON PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, THEY WILL NOT UNDERSTAND PROLONGED SILENCE WITH NO EXPLANATION ON OUR PART. THEREFORE, WE RECOMMEND THE DEPARTMENT FIX A TENTATIVE DATE FOR REINFORCED MIDDLE EAST CONSULTATIONS AND THAT WE CONVEY THIS DATE TO THE ALLIES.

-- UN OUTLOOK. THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THIS YEARS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FR THE ALLIES TO CONCERT ON DEALING WITH THE MILITANT THIRD WORLD MAJORITY AT THE UN. AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN'S PRESENCE AS THE US PARTICIPANTS AT A REINFORCED NAC, SUPPLEMENTING THE REGULAR UN EXPERTS GATHERING, WOULD STIMULATE DISCUSSION AND ENCOURAGE HIGH-LEVEL ALLIED PARTICIPATION.

-- LAW OF THE SEA. A REINFORCED COUNCIL STOCK-TAKING ON THE SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF DEVELOPMENTS AT THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED LOS CONFERENCE WOULD BE TIMELY. THIS COULD BE HELD CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIOR TO THE CONVENING OF THE NEXT ROUND, AND WOULD FOLLOW-UP THE USEFUL LOS DISCUSSIONS HELD HERE IN MARCH.

-- NATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEWS. REINFORCED DPC MEETINGS, WHICH WOULD BE A NOVEL STEP IN ALLIED CONSULTATIONS, WOULD BE USEFUL IN ADDRESSING NATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEWS INVOLVING SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS IN FORCE STRUCTURES. AN APPROPRIATE POINT IN THE CURRENT CANADIAN DEFENSE REVIEW, FOR EXAMPLE, MIGHT FURNISH SUCH AN OPPORTUNITY.

-- REGIONAL DEFENSE PLANNING REVIEW. DISCUSSIONS IN REINFORCED DPC MEETINGS OF REQUIREMENTS, CAPABILITIES AND PROGRAMS FOR EACH REGION COULD BE PLANNED FOR NOVEMBER AS PART OF THE REGULAR NATO DEFENSE PLANNING CYCLE. SUCH CONSULTATIONS COULD BE PRECEDED BY REGIONAL MEETINGS OF NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND NATO AND NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES AT THE HEADQUARTERS.

-- ALLIANCE COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS. BASED ON THE US EMPHASIS ON ALLIANCE COOPERATION IN R&D, PROCUREMENT, STANDARDIZATION AND RATIONALIZATION, WE USEFULLY COULD SCHEDULE REINFORCED NAC AND DPC SESSIONS ON COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS IN OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER. WE WILL PROVIDE FURTHER VIEWS ON THESE TOPICS LATER.

-- NUNN AMENDMENT FOLLOW-ON. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A GOOD RECORD ON CONSULTATIONS ON ACTIONS REQUIRED BY THE NUNN AMENDMENT. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO USE THE DPC AND THE MILITARY COMMITTEE TO KEEP ALLIES FULLY INFORMED ON US PROGRAMS TO IMPROVE THE TEETH-TO-TAIL RATIO OF US FORCES IN CENTRAL REGION. IN THE SENSITIVE NUCLEAR AREA, WE MUST WORK TO STRIKE A CAREFUL BALANCE BETWEEN TIMELY ACCOMPLISHMENT OF NECESSARY ANALYSES BY NATO/US MILITARY AUTHORITIES, AND SUCH PARALLEL CONSULTATIONS IN THE NPG AS MAY BE NEEDED TO REASSURE AND EDUCATE THE ALLIES

ON IMPROVEMENTS IN NATOS THEATER NUCLEAR POSTURE.

(B) SPC AND POLADS

-- ALLIED AIMS IN FOLLOW-UP TO CSCE. IN HIS FEBRUARY 20 REPORT TO THE NAC ON US-SOVIET DEVELOPMENTS (USNATO 955), COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT SPOKE OF THE PROBLEM OF USING THE STRUCTURE EMERGING FROM DETENTE IN A WAY WHICH CAN INFLUENCE SOVIET BEHAVIOR. WE BELIEVE SPC DISCUSSION OF THIS TOPIC WOULD HELP CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ALLIES TO HARMONIZE THEIR POLICIES FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE.

-- POST-CSCE OUTLOOK FOR SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. A COMPLEMENT TO THE FOREGOING WOULD BE A US INITIATIVE, ALONG LINES WE HAVE ALREADY RECOMMENDED (USNATO 2870), LEADING TO A NATO PAPER ON THIS TOPIC. THE DEPARTMENT REACTED FAVORABLY TO THIS SUGGESTION (STATE 125154), AND SUCH A PAPER, BASED ON NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS, COULD IN TURN BE THE SUBJECT OF A CRITIQUE BY HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS AT A REINFORCED NAC IN THE AUTUMN, AFTER THE US-USSR SUMMIT.

-- SOVIET ACTIVITY IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICA. THE SOVIETS HAVE RECENTLY BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN AFRICA (E.G. MILITARY AID TO SOMALIA, TANZANIA, AND UGANDA; COURTING OF WEST AFRICAN LEADERS). THE MOTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS OF THESE ACTIVITIES COULD BE EXAMINED IN POLADS, PERHAPS WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS.

(C) NATO EXPERTS

-- REGIONAL EXPERTS. THE US SHOULD SUGGEST TO THE ALLIES, IN BOTH THE NAC AND ITS SUBSIDIARY POLITICAL COMMITTEES, TOPICS RELATING TO WORLDWIDE EVENTS ON WHICH THE NATO REGIONAL EXPERTS SHOULD BE INVITED TO CONCENTRATE ATTENTION DURING THEIR SEMI-ANNUAL MEETINGS. IF THE ALLIES CAN AGREE ON SPECIFIC SUBJECTS OF CURRENT INTEREST, THE REGIONAL EXPERTS WOULD BE ABLE TO FOCUS THEIR EFFORTS ON ISSUES OF POTENTIAL INTEREST TO ALLIED POLICY MAKERS. THE REGIONAL EXPERTS WORK COULD THUS BE BETTER INTEGRATED INTO THE OVERALL STRUCTURE OF ALLIANCE POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS. THIS IS AN OLD IDEA, BUT IT HAS NEVER HAD THE BENEFIT OF CAREFUL STAFFING BY THE DEPARTMENT TO ISOLATE KEY ISSUES FOR REINFORCED NAC ATTENTION IN ALL OF THE GEOGRAPHIC AREAS. BEACUSE THE MISSION HAS ONLY LIMITED REGIONAL EXPERTISE, WE MUST RELY ON THE DEPARTMENT FOR GUIDANCE IN THIS AREA. THUS WE RECOMMEND THAT EUR, IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHER BUREAUS, INCLUDING INR, S/P AND PM, ESTABLISH STANDING WORKING GROUPS TO DEAL WITH REGIONAL ISSUES IN THE NATO FRAMEWORK.

(D) NATO-WIDE COMMUNICATIONS NET

-- THE NATO-WIDE NET IS AN EFFICIENT MEANS FOR CIRCULATING

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INFORMATION AND ANALYSES OF IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS AND THUS INFLUENCING ALLIED THINKING. ALTHOUGH THE DEPARTMENT INDICATED ITS INTENTION TO INCREASE THE FLOW OF US POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ANALYSES (SEE STATE 15835), THE RESULTS SO FAR HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTING TO OTHER DELEGATIONS. THE PROBLEM MAY BE, IN PART, AN ORGANIZATIONAL ONE. PERHAPS AN INR OFFICER, IN COLLABORATION WITH EUR, COULD BE TASKED TO SCREEN INR'S OUTPUT IN ALL AREAS WITH A VIEW TO INTRODUCING INTO THE NATO-WIDE SYSTEM AS MUCH MATERIAL AS POSSIBLE, ECONOMIC AS WELL AS POLITICAL, AND COVERING ALL AREAS OF THE WORLD.

6. ACTION: WOULD APPRECIATE EARLY GUIDANCE ON STEPS TO IMPLEMENT THE PRESIDENTS PROPOSAL.
BRUCE.

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